

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00506 131423Z

44

ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 771

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0506

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT MBFR: USE OF REVISED GROUND FORCE TOTALS WITH THE EAST

REF: A STATE 214231

B MBFR/VIENNA 0249

C MBFR/VIENNA 0428

1. SUMMARY: TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE EAST EITHER
TO DISCUSS DATA OR TO ACCEPT ALLIED FIGURES, THE AD
HOC GROUPS NEEDS TO BE IN A POSITION TO USE THE REVISED
NATO-AGREED GROUND FORCE TOTALS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
THIS MESSAGE RECOMMENDS REVISING CURRENT NAC GUIDANCE
TO ALLOW ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TO PUT FORWARD THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00506 131423Z

REVISED FIGURES ON A NON-RECIPROCAL BASIS.

THIS MESSAGE ALSO RECOMMENDS THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES BE AUTHORIZED TO PUT FORWARD AIR MANPOWER TOTALS ON A NON-RECIPROCAL BASIS. END SUMMARY.

2. CURRENT NATO GUIDANCE TO THE AHG PREVENTS ALLIED NEGOTIATORS FROM GIVING THE EAST REVISED ALLIED DATA ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE TOTALS, EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF A RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DATA. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THAT GUIDANCE, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TOLD THE EAST DURING THE OCTOBER 24 INFORMAL SESSION THAT "THE MOST RECENT WESTERN FIGURES SHOWED A SLIGHT INCREASE OF ABOUT THE SAME DIMENSION IN THE TOTALS FOR BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES." THIS STEP WAS TACTICALLY NECESSARY IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO DRAW THE EAST INTO DISCUSSION OF A POSSIBLE AGREED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND A DATA EXCHANGE, IN ORDER TO FORESTALL POSSIBLE LATER EASTERN CHARGES THAT THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAD ACTED IN BAD FAITH BY NOT REVEALING THAT THEIR DATA HAD CHANGED, AND IN VIEW OF THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE EAST WOULD IN ANY CASE HAVE HAD SOME INKLING THAT WESTERN DATA HAD CHANGED.

3. ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO PUT FORWARD FIGURES AND ENGAGE IN DISCUSSION OF THEM HAS HITHERTO PUT THE EAST ON THE DEFENSIVE, AND HAS ELICITED SOME SIGNS OF DISCOMFORT FROM EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES. NOW, HOWEVER, THE ALLIED ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT EARLIER ALLIED FIGURES ARE NO LONGER ACCURATE, COMBINED WITH ALLIED REFUSAL TO SAY WHAT THE NEW FIGURES ARE, LETS THE EAST OFF THE HOOK.

4. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE ON THE EAST ON THIS ISSUE, WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS NOW BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE THE REVISED ALLIED GROUND FORCE DATA TO THE EAST ON A NON-RECIPROCAL BASIS. THE ARGUMENTS LISTED IN PARA 10 OF MBFR/VIENNA 249 FOR DOING THIS REMAIN VALID, IN OUR VIEW. THE ALLIED CASE FOR DEMANDING ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS RESTS IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXISTENCE OF THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITY. EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00506 131423Z

THIS CASE REQUIRES AUTHORITATIVE, UP-TO-DATE FIGURES TO DOCUMENT THE DISPARITY. SINCE THE EAST HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT ENGAGE IN ANY EXCHANGE OF DATA AT THIS TIME, WITHHOLDING THE NEW DATA PROVIDES NO LEVERAGE FOR THE ALLIES. INSTEAD, IT WEAKENS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIED CASE FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS, A CASE THE ALLIES WILL NEED TO CONTINUE MAKING IN ANY CASE. MOREOVER, IT UNDERCUTS THE DESIRABLE

ALLIED TACTIC OF PRESSING THE EAST BY CONTINUALLY CONFRONTING IT WITH THE CHOICE EITHER OF ENGAGING IN SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF DATA OR --ULTIMATELY -- OF SIMPLY ACCEPTING THE ALLIED DATA. THE LATTER ALTERNATIVE ALSO NEEDS TO BE KEPT OPEN IN LIGHT OF THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THE EAST MAY NEVER COME FORWARD WITH FIGURES OF ITS OWN.

5. FOR SIMILAR TACTICAL REASONS, THE ALLIES SHOULD ALSO BE IN A POSITION TO PUT FORWARD THE TOTAL AIR MANPOWER FIGURES FOR EACH SIDE. IN ACCORDANCE WITH CURRENT GUIDANCE, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE TOLD THE EAST THAT THE AGGREGATE AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS OF THE TWO SIDES ARE VERY CLOSE, THOUGH WITH A SLIGHT WARSAW PACT SUPERIORITY. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE MADE THIS POINT IN THE CONTEXT OF ARGUING THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON THE CORRECTION OF THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES, AND THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THE ALLIES OPPOSE REDUCTIONS IN AIR MANPOWER. THERE IS THUS NO RISK THT ADVANCING ACTUAL FIGURES WOULD BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THE EAST AS AN INDICATION OF ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO CONTEMPLATE AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, TO ADVANCE THE AIR MANPOWER FIGURES WOULD STRENGTHEN THE FORCE OF ALLIED ARGUMENTS AS TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES AND THE NEED TO DEAL WITH THEM IN A REDUCTION AGREEMENT. JUST AS IMPORTANT, ADVANCING THE FIGURES WOULD MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE ON THE EAST EITHER TO ADVANCE FIGURES OF THEIR OWN, AND DISCUSS SERIOUSLY ANY DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THESE FIGURES AND THE ALLIED FIGURES, OR TO ACCEPT THE ALLIED FIGURES FOR PURPOSES OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT.

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PAGE 04 MBFR V 00506 131423Z

6. RECOMMENDATION: ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT, IN LINE WITH THE US POSITION SET OUT IN STATE 211141 AND 214231, WASHINGTON INSTRUCT USNATO TO SEEK NEW COUNCIL GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP, PERMITTING THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TO USE THE REVISED GROUND FORCE TOTALS WITH THE EAST ON A UNILATERAL BASIS. WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON INSTRUCT USNATO TO SEEK AUTHORITY FOR ALLIED NEGOTIATORS TO PUT FORWARD THE OVERALL TOTALS FOR NATO AND WARSAW PACT AIR MANPOWER ON A UNILATERAL BASIS. BOTH OF THESE ISSUES ARE RAISED IN THE FINAL AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE COUNCIL APPROVED ON DECEMBER 12. NEW GUIDANCE, TO BE EFFECTIVE, SHOULD BE RECEIVED IN VIENNA BY FEBRUARY 1, FOR USE EARLY DURING THE NEXT ROUND.RESOR

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